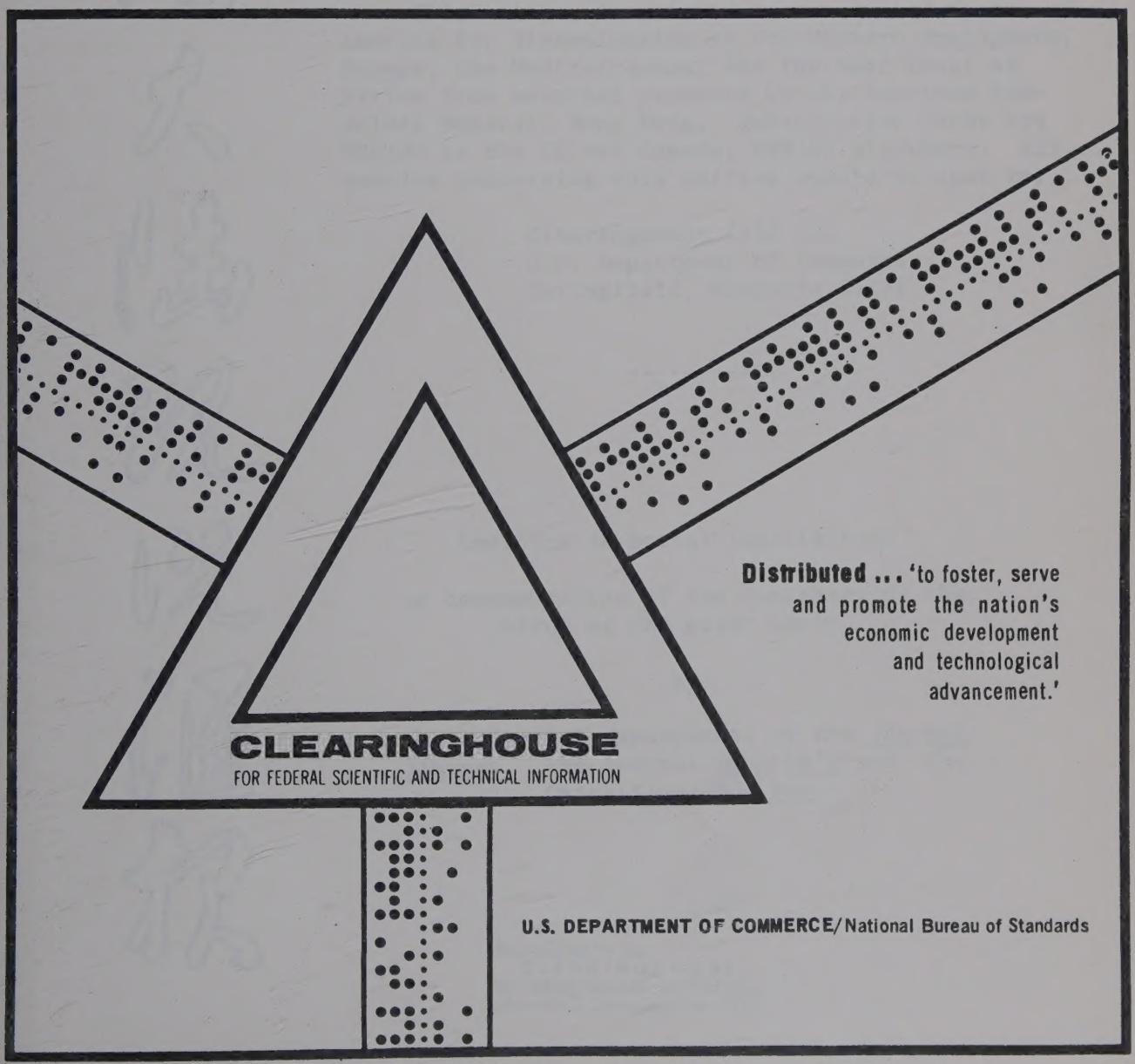
CMP CB 70 08

CURRENT BACKGROUND

American Consulate General
Hong Kong, China

1 May 1970

U. of ILL. LIBRARY
OCT - 7 1970
CHICAGO CIRCLE


CLEARINGHOUSE
FOR FEDERAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION
Distributed ... 'to foster, serve and promote the nation's economic development and technological advancement.'
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE/National Bureau of Standards

This document has been approved for public release and sale.

U. of Ill. LIBRARY
OCT - 7 1970
CHICAGO CIRCLE

CMP-CB-70-08

中國大陸現況選報

Current Background

American Consulate General
Hong Kong

No. 906
May 1, 1970

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. Subscription rates are US$130 in the US and Canada, US$165 elsewhere. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

Clearinghouse (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
Springfield, Virginia 22151

Leninism or Social-Imperialism?

- in commemoration of the centenary of the birth of the great Lenin

by

the editorial departments of the Jen-min Jih-pao, the journal Hung-ch'i and the Chieh-fang-chün Pao

Reproduced by the
CLEARINGHOUSE
for Federal Scientific & Technical
Information Springfield Va. 22151

Leninism or Social-Imperialism?

- in commemoration of the centenary of the birth of the great Lenin

by

the editorial departments of the Jen-min Jih-pao, the journal Hung-ch'i and the Chieh-fang-chün Pao

(NCNA-English Peking, April 21, 1970)

1. the banner of leninism is invincible

the centenary of the birth of the great lenin falls on april 22 this year.

throughout the world, the marxist-leninists, the proletariat and the revolutionary people are commemorating this date of historic significance with the highest respect for the great lenin.

after the death of marx and engels, lenin was the great leader of the international communist movement and the great teacher of the proletariat and oppressed people of the world.

in 1871, the year after lenin was born, the uprising of the paris commune occurred; this was the first attempt of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie. the world was entering the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth centuries when lenin began his revolutionary activities. in his struggles against imperialism and opportunism of every kind, and especially against the revisionism of the second international, lenin inherited, defended and developed marxism and brought it to a new and higher stage, the stage of leninism. as stalin put it, "(boldface begins) leninism is marxism of the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. (boldface ends)"1

lenin analysed the contradictions of imperialism, revealed the law governing it and solved a series of major questions of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and settled the question of socialism "(boldface begins) achieving victory first in one or several countries (boldface ends)".2 he expounded the thesis that the proletariat must assume leadership in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and led the russian proletariat in staging a general rehearsal in the revolution of 1905. under his leadership the great october socialist revolution brought about the fundamental change from the old world of capitalism to the new world of socialism, opening up a new era in the history of mankind.

lenin's theoretical and practical contributions to the cause of the proletarian revolution were extremely great.

after the death of lenin, stalin inherited and defended the cause of leninism in his struggles against domestic and foreign

class enemies and against the right and "left" opportunists in the party. he led the soviet people in continuing the advance along the socialist road and in winning great victories. during world war ii the soviet people under the command of stalin became the main force in defeating fascist aggression and made magnificent contributions which will live for ever in the history of mankind.

we chinese communists and the chinese people will never forget that it was precisely in leninism that we found our road to liberation. comrade mao tsetung says: "(boldface begins) the salvoes of the october revolution brought us marxism-leninism. (boldface ends)" "(boldface begins) they (boldface ends) (square bracket) the chinese -- tr. (square unbracket) (boldface begins) found marxism-leninism, the universally applicable truth, and the face of china began to change. (boldface ends)"3 he points out: "(boldface begins) the chinese people have always considered the chinese revolution a continuation of the great october socialist revolution (boldface ends)".4

applying the theory of marxism-leninism, comrade mao tsetung creatively solved the fundamental problems of the chinese revolution and led the chinese people in waging the most protracted, fierce, arduous and complicated revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars ever known in the history of the world proletarian revolution and in winning victory in the people's revolution in china, this large country in the east. this is the greatest victory in the world proletarian revolution since the october revolution.

we are now living in a great new era of world revolution. the international situation has undergone world-shaking changes since lenin's time. the development of world history as a whole has proved that lenin's revolutionary teachings are correct and that the banner of leninism is invincible.

but history has its twists and turns. just as bernstein-kautsky revisionism emerged after the death of engels, so did khrushchov-brezhnev revisionism after the death of stalin.

eleven years after khrushchov came to power, a split occurred within the revisionist clique and he was replaced by brezhnev. more than five years have elapsed since brezhnev took office. and now it is this brezhnev who is conducting the "commemoration" of the centenary of lenin's birth in the soviet union.

lenin once said: "(boldface begins) it has always been the case in history that after the death of revolutionary leaders who were popular among the oppressed classes, their enemies have attempted to appropriate their names so as to deceive the oppressed classes. (boldface ends)"5

this is exactly what the renegade brezhnev and his ilk are doing to the great lenin. in their so-called theses on the centenary of the birth of vladimir ilyich lenin, they have the impudence to distort the great image of lenin, the revolutionary teacher of the proletariat, and pass off their revisionist rubbish as leninism. they pretend to "commemorate" lenin, but in reality they are appropriating the name of lenin to press forward with their social-imperialism, social-fascism and social-militarism. what an outrageous insult to lenin exclamation

today our fighting tasks are thoroughly to expose the betrayal of leninism by the soviet revisionist renegades, to lay bare the class nature of soviet revisionist social-imperialism, point out the historical law that social-imperialism, like capitalist imperialism, will meet its inevitable doom, and

further promote the great struggle of the people of the world against u.s. imperialism, soviet revisionism and all reaction. here is the tremendous significance of our commemoration of the centenary of the birth of the great lenin.

ii. the fundamental question of leninism is the dictatorship of the proletariat

in his struggles against opportunism and revisionism, lenin repeatedly pointed out that the fundamental question in the proletarian revolution is that of using violence to seize political power, smash the bourgeois state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

he said: "(boldface begins) the latter (boldface ends) (square bracket) the bourgeois state -- tr. (square unbracket) (boldface begins) cannot be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) in the process of 'withering away'; as a general rule, this can happen only by means of a violent revolution. (boldface ends)"6

he added that marx's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat "(boldface begins) is inseparably bound up with all he taught on the revolutionary role of the proletariat in history. the culmination of this role is the proletarian dictatorship (boldface ends)".7

the victory of the october revolution led by lenin was a victory for the marxist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. the road of the october revolution is the road of the proletariat achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat through violent revolution.

around the time of the october revolution, lenin summed up the new revolutionary practice and further developed the marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. he pointed out that the socialist revolution covers "(boldface begins) a whole epoch of intensified class conflicts (boldface ends)"8 and that "(boldface begins) until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration (boldface ends)".9 therefore, he maintained that the dictatorship of the proletariat "(boldface begins) is necessary ... not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but for the entire historical period between capitalism and 'classless society,' communism (boldface ends)".10

today, as we commemorate the centenary of lenin's birth, it is of vital practical significance to study anew these brilliant ideas of lenin's.

as is well known, it is precisely on the fundamental question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat that the soviet revisionist renegade clique has betrayed leninism and the october revolution.

far back, when khrushchov began to reveal his revisionist features, comrade mao tsetung acutely pointed out: "(boldface begins) i think there are two 'swords': one is lenin and the other stalin. the sword of stalin has now been abandoned by the russians. (boldface ends)" "(boldface begins) as for the sword of lenin, has it too now been abandoned to a certain extent by some leaders of the soviet union? in my view, it has been abandoned to a considerable extent. is the october revolution still valid? can it still be the example for all countries? khrushchov's report at the 20th congress of the cpsu says it is possible to gain political power by the parliamentary road, that is to say, it is no

longer necessary for all countries to learn from the october revolution. once this gate is opened, leninism by and large is thrown out. (boldface ends)"11

iii. counter-revolutionary coup d'etat by the khrushchov-brezhnev renegade clique

how was it possible for the restoration of capitalism to take place in the soviet union, the first socialist state in the world, and how was it possible for the soviet union to become social-imperialist? if we examine this question from the standpoint of marxism-leninism, and especially in the light of comrade mao tsetung's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we shall be able to understand that this was mainly a product of the class struggle in the soviet union, the result of the usurpation of party and government leadership by a handful of party persons in power taking the capitalist road there, in other words, the result of the usurpation of the political power of the proletariat by the soviet bourgeoisie. at the same time, it was the result of the policy of "peaceful evolution" which world imperialism, in trying to save itself from its doom, has pushed in the soviet union through the medium of the soviet revisionist renegade clique.

comrade mao tsetung points out: "(boldface begins) socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. in the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. (boldface ends)"12

in socialist society the class struggle still focuses on the question of political power. comrade mao tsetung points out: "(boldface begins) those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. (boldface ends)"13

classes and class struggle continued to exist in the soviet union long after the october revolution, although the bourgeoisie had been overthrown. stalin cleared out quite a gang of counter-revolutionary representatives of the bourgeoisie who had wormed their way into the party -- trotsky, zinoviev, kamenev, radek, bukharin, rykov and the like. this showed that sharp class struggle was going on all the time and that there was always the danger of capitalist restoration.

being the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the soviet union lacked experience in consolidating this dictatorship and preventing the restoration of capitalism. in these circumstances and after stalin's death, khrushchov, a capitalist-roader in power hiding in the soviet communist party, came out with a surprise attack in his "secret report" viciously slandering stalin and by every kind of treacherous manoeuvre usurped party and government power in the soviet union. this was a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat which turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and which overthrew socialism and restored capitalism.

brezhnev was khrushchov's accomplice in the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat and later replaced him. brezhnev's rise to power is, in essence, the continuation of khrushchov's counter-revolutionary coup. brezhnev is khrushchov the second.

comrade mao tsetung points out: "(boldface begins) the rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie. (boldface ends)"14 "(boldface begins) the soviet union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the german fascist type, a dictatorship of the hitler type. (boldface ends)"15

this brilliant thesis of comrade mao tsetung's most penetratingly reveals the class essence and social roots of soviet revisionist social-imperialism and its fascist nature.

since the soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped party and government power in the soviet union, the soviet bourgeois privileged stratum has greatly expanded its political and economic power and has occupied the ruling position in the party, the government, and the army as well as in the economic and cultural fields. and from this stratum there has emerged a bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class, namely, a new type of big bourgeoisie which dominates the whole state machine and controls all the social wealth.

utilizing the state power under its control, this new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class has turned socialist ownership into ownership by capitalist-roaders and turned the socialist economy into a capitalist economy and a state monopoly capitalist economy. in the name of the "state", it unscrupulously plunders the state treasury and embezzles at will the fruits of the labour of the soviet people in every possible way. indulging in luxury and debauchery, it rides roughshod over the people.

this new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class is a bourgeoisie that has turned (boldface begins) the hope of restoration (boldface ends) into (boldface begins) attempts at restoration (boldface ends). it has suppressed the heroic sons and daughters of the october revolution, is lording it over the people of different nationalities in the soviet union and has set up its own small counter-revolutionary tsarist court. therefore, it is reactionary in the extreme and mortally hates and fears the people.

like all other reactionary and decadent classes, this new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class is riddled with internal contradictions. in their desperate efforts to keep the power they have usurped, the members of this class are both working hand in glove with each other and scheming and struggling against one another. the greater their difficulties, the fiercer their strife, open and secret.

in order to extort maximum profits and maintain its reactionary rule, this new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class not only exploits and oppresses the people of its own country, but it necessarily engages in rabid expansion and aggression, joins the company of world imperialism in redividing the world and pursues the most vicious social-imperialist policies.

this new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class constitutes the class basis of soviet revisionist social-imperialism. at present the general representative of this class is brezhnev. he has frantically pushed and developed khrushchov revisionism and is completing the evolution from capitalist restoration to social-imperialism, which was already begun when khrushchov was in power.

since brezhnev took office, he has pushed the so-called new economic system in an all-round way and established the capitalist principle of profit in a legal form, thus intensifying the exploitation of the working people by the oligarchy of

bureaucrat monopolists. he and his like extort exorbitant taxes in total disregard of the lives of the people, follow hitler's policy of "guns instead of butter" and accelerate the militarization of the national economy to meet the needs of social-imperialism for arms expansion and war preparation.

the perverse acts of the soviet revisionist renegade clique have caused immense damage to the social productive forces and brought about grave consequences: the decline of industry, the deterioration of agriculture, the reduction in livestock, inflation, shortages of supplies, the unusual scarcity of commodities on state markets and the increasing impoverishment of the working people. the soviet revisionist renegades have not only squandered a vast amount of the wealth accumulated by the soviet people through decades of hard work, but have also humbly begged for loans from west germany, a country defeated in world war ii, and are even selling out the country's natural resources and inviting japanese monopoly capital into siberia. the economy of the soviet union is already in the grip of an inextricable crisis. as friends of the soviet people, we the chinese people, along with the people of the world, are extremely indignant with the soviet revisionist renegades who have brought so much damage and disgrace to the homeland of leninism; we feel deep sympathy for the broad masses of the soviet people who are suffering enormously from the all-round restoration of the capitalist system.

the soviet revisionist renegade clique once said that the dictatorship of the proletariat "has ceased to be indispensable in the ussr" and that the soviet union "has ... become a state of the entire people".16 but now they are slapping their own faces and asserting that the "state of the entire people continues the cause of the proletarian dictatorship"17 and that "the state of the whole people" and "the state of proletarian dictatorship" are "of one and the same type".18 they are also making a hullabaloo about "strengthening party leadership", "strengthening discipline", "strengthening centralism" and so on. "a state of the entire people" and at the same time a "proletarian dictatorship" -- they lump together these two diametrically opposed concepts for no other purpose than to deceive the masses and camouflage the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie. by "party leadership" they actually mean political control over the broad masses of the party members and the people by the handful of social-fascist oligarchs. by "discipline" they mean suppression of all who are dissatisfied with their rule. and by "centralism" they mean further centralizing the political, economic and military power in the hands of their gang. in short, they are putting all these signboards up for the purpose of strengthening their fascist dictatorship and preparing for wars of aggression.

beset with difficulties at home and abroad, the soviet revisionist renegade clique is resorting more and more openly to counter-revolutionary violence to buttress its reactionary rule which betrays lenin and the october revolution. in the soviet union of today, special agents and spies run amuck and reactionary laws and decrees multiply. revolution is a crime, and people are everywhere being jailed on false charges; counter-revolution is a merit, and renegades congratulate each other on their promotion. large numbers of revolutionaries and innocent people have been thrown into concentration camps and "mental hospitals". the soviet revisionist clique even sends tanks and armoured cars brutally to suppress the people's resistance.

lenin pointed out: "(boldface begins) nowhere in the world is there such an oppression of the majority of the country's population as there is in russia (boldface ends)", and nationalities other than russians were regarded "(boldface

begins) as inorodtsi (aliens) (boldface ends)".19 national oppression "(boldface begins) turned the nationalities without any rights into great reservoirs of fierce hatred for the monarchs (boldface ends)".20 now the soviet revisionist new tsars have restored the old tsars' policy of national oppression, adopted such cruel measures as discrimination, forced migration, splitting and imprisonment to oppress and persecute the minority nationalities and turned the soviet union back into the "(boldface begins) prison of nations (boldface ends)".21

the soviet revisionist renegade clique exercises comprehensive bourgeois dictatorship throughout the ideological sphere. it wantonly suppresses and destroys the proletariat's socialist ideology and culture while opening the floodgates to the rotten bourgeois ideology and culture. it vociferously preaches militarism, national chauvinism and racism and turns literature and art into tools for pushing social-imperialism.

in denouncing the dark rule of the tsarist system, lenin indicated that police tyranny, savage persecution and demoralization had reached such an extent that "(boldface begins) the very stones cry out (boldface ends)" exclamation22 one can just as well compare the rule of the soviet revisionist renegade clique with the tsarist system castigated by lenin.

in staging the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, the khrushchov-brezhnev renegade clique played a role which no imperialist or reactionary was in a position to play. as stalin said, "(boldface begins) the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. (boldface ends)"23 the fortress of socialism, which had withstood the 14-nation armed intervention, the whiteguard rebellion, the attack by several million hitlerite troops and imperialist sabotage, subversion, blockade and encirclement of every kind, was finally captured from within by this handful of renegades. the khrushchov-brezhnev clique are the biggest renegades in the history of the international communist movement. they are criminals indicted by history for their towering crimes.

iv. socialism in words, imperialism in deeds

lenin denounced the renegades of the second international as "(boldface begins) socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, the growth of opportunism into imperialism (boldface ends)".24

the soviet revisionist renegade clique, too, has grown from revisionism into social-imperialism. the difference lies in the fact that the social-imperialists of the second international such as kautsky did not hold state power; they only served the imperialists of their own countries to earn a few crumbs from the superprofits plundered from the people of other countries. the soviet revisionist social-imperialists, however, directly plunder and enslave the people of other countries by means of the state power they have usurped.

the historical lesson is: once its political power is usurped by a revisionist clique, a socialist state will either turn into social-imperialism as in the case of the soviet union or be reduced to a dependency or a colony as in the case of czechoslovakia and the mongolian people's republic. now one can see clearly that the essence of the khrushchov-brezhnev renegade clique's rise to power lies in the transformation of the socialist state created by lenin and stalin into a hegemonic social-imperialist power.

the soviet revisionist renegade clique talks glibly about leninism, socialism and proletarian internationalism, but it acts in an out-and-out imperialist way.

it talks glibly about practising "internationalism" towards its so-called fraternal countries, but in fact it imposes fetter upon fetter, such as the "warsaw treaty organization" and the "council for mutual economic assistance", on a number of east european countries and the mongolian people's republic, thereby confining them within its barbed-wire "socialist community" and freely ransacking them. it uses its overlord position to press its "international division of labour", "specialization in production" and "economic integration", to force these countries to adapt their national economies to the soviet revisionist needs and turn them into its markets, subsidiary processing workshops, orchards, vegetable gardens and ranches, all so that outrageous super-economic exploitation can be carried on.

it has adopted the most despotic and vicious methods to keep these countries under strict control and stationed massive numbers of troops there, and it has even openly dispatched hundreds of thousands of troops to trample czechoslovakia underfoot and install a puppet regime at bayonet point. like the old tsars denounced by lenin, this gang of renegades bases its relations with its neighbours entirely "(boldface begins) on the feudal principle of privilege (boldface ends)".25

the soviet revisionist renegade clique talks glibly about its "aid" to countries in asia, africa and latin america, but in fact, under the guise of "aid", it is trying hard to bring a number of these countries into its sphere of influence in contending with u.s. imperialism for the intermediate zone. through the export of war materiel and capital and through unequal trade, soviet revisionism is plundering their natural resources, interfering in their internal affairs and looking for chances to grab military bases.

lenin pointed out: "(boldface begins) to the numerous 'old' motives of colonial policy, finance capital has added the struggle for the sources of raw materials, for the export of capital, for 'spheres of influence,' ... for economic territory in general. (boldface ends)"26 soviet revisionist social-imperialism is moving along precisely this orbit of capitalist imperialism.

the soviet revisionist renegade clique talks glibly about its "full support" for the revolutionary struggles in other countries, but in fact it is collaborating with all the most reactionary forces in the world to undermine the revolutionary struggles of various peoples. it wildly vilifies the revolutionary masses in the capitalist countries as "extremists" and "mobs" and tries to split and disintegrate the people's movements there. it has supplied money and guns to the reactionaries of indonesia, india and other countries and thus directly helped them massacre revolutionaries, and is scheming night and day to put out the flames of the people's armed struggles in asia, africa and latin america, and suppress the national liberation movements. like u.s. imperialism, it is acting as a world gendarme.

the soviet revisionist renegade clique talks glibly about its approval of "struggle against imperialism", mouthing a few phrases scolding the united states now and then, but in fact, soviet revisionism and u.s. imperialism are both the biggest imperialisms vainly attempting to dominate the world. there is absolutely nothing in common

between the soviet revisionists' so-called opposition to the united states and the struggles of the people of the various countries against u.s. imperialism. in order to redivide the world, soviet revisionism and u.s. imperialism are contending and colluding with each other at the same time. what soviet revisionism has done on a series of major issues, such as the questions of germany, the middle east, southeast asia, japan and nuclear weapons, is evidence of its crimes in contending and colluding with u.s. imperialism. both of them are playing imperialist power politics at the expense of the interests of the people of all countries. whatever compromises may be reached between soviet revisionism and u.s. imperialism are mere temporary agreements between gangsters.

lenin pointed out: "(boldface begins) contemporary militarism is the result of capitalism. (boldface ends)"27 contemporary war "(boldface begins) arises out of the very nature of imperialism (boldface ends)".28

since brezhnev came to power, the soviet revisionist renegade clique has gone farther and farther down the road of militarism. it has taken over khrushchov's military strategic principle of nuclear blackmail and energetically developed missile-nuclear weapons, and at the same time redoubled its efforts to expand conventional armaments, comprehensively strengthening its ground, naval and air forces, and carried out the imperialist "gunboat policy" throughout the world.

on the question of war, formerly khrushchov hypocritically advocated a world "without weapons, without armed forces and without wars" to cover up actual arms expansion and war preparation. today, brezhnev and company have somewhat changed their tune. they have gone all out to stir up war fanaticism, clamouring that the present international situation is "fraught with the danger of a new world war",29 brazenly threatening to "forestall the opponent" and bragging about their "strategic missiles" being "capable of destroying any target at any place".30 they have been increasing military expenditures still more frantically, stepping up their mobilization and preparation for wars of aggression and plotting to unleash a blitzkrieg of the hitler type.

the soviet revisionist renegade clique has occupied czechoslovakia by surprise attack, encroached upon chinese territories such as chenpao island and the tiehliekti area and made nuclear threats against our country. all this fully reveals the aggressive and adventurous nature of soviet revisionist social-imperialism. like the u.s. imperialists, the handful of oligarchs of soviet revisionist social-imperialism have become another arch-criminal preparing to start a world war.

v. the "brezhnev doctrine" is an outright doctrine of hegemony

in order to press on with its social-imperialist policy of expansion and aggression, the brezhnev renegade clique has developed khrushchov revisionism and concocted an assortment of fascist "theories" called the "brezhnev doctrine".

now let us examine what stuff this "brezhnev doctrine" is made of.

first, the theory of "limited sovereignty". brezhnev and company say that safeguarding their so-called interests of socialism means safeguarding "supreme sovereignty".31 they flagrantly declare that soviet revisionism has the right

to determine the destiny of another country "including the destiny of its sovereignty".32

what "interests of socialism" exclamation it is you who have subverted the socialist system in the soviet union and pushed your revisionist line of restoring capitalism in a number of east european countries and the mongolian people's republic. what you call the "interests of socialism" are actually the interests of soviet revisionist social-imperialism, the interests of colonialism. you have imposed your all-highest "supreme sovereignty" on the people of other countries, which means that the sovereignty of other countries is "limited", whereas your own power of dominating other countries is "unlimited". in other words, you have the right to order other countries about, whereas they have no right to oppose you; you have the right to ravage other countries, but they have no right to resist you. hitler once raved about "the right to rule".33 dulles and his ilk also preached that the concepts of national sovereignty "have become obsolete"34 and that "single state sovereignty" should give place to "joint sovereignty".35 so it is clear that brezhnev's theory of "limited sovereignty" is nothing but an echo of imperialist ravings.

secondly, the theory of "international dictatorship". brezhnev and company assert that they have the right to "render military aid to a fraternal country to do away with the threat to the socialist system".36 they declare: "lenin had foreseen" that historical development would "transform the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national into an international one, capable of decisively influencing the entire world politics".37

this bunch of renegades has completely distorted lenin's ideas.

in his article "preliminary draft of theses on the national and colonial questions", lenin wrote of "(boldface begins) transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national one (i.e., existing in one country and incapable of determining world politics) into an international one (i.e., a dictatorship of the proletariat covering at least several advanced countries and capable of exercising decisive influence upon the whole of world politics) (boldface ends)".38 lenin meant here to uphold proletarian internationalism and propagate proletarian world revolution. but the soviet revisionist renegade clique has emasculated the proletarian revolutionary spirit embodied in this passage of lenin's and concocted the theory of "international dictatorship" as the "theoretical basis" for military intervention in or military occupation of a number of east european countries and the mongolian people's republic. the "international dictatorship" you refer to simply means the subjection of other countries to the new tsars' rule and enslavement. do you think that by putting up the signboard of "aid to a fraternal country" you are entitled to use your military force to bully another country, or send your troops to overrun another country as you please? flying the flag of "unified armed forces", you invaded czechoslovakia. what difference is there between this and the invasion of china by the allied forces of eight powers in 1900, the 14-nation armed intervention in the soviet union and the "16-nation" aggression organized by u.s. imperialism against korea exclamation

thirdly, the theory of "socialist community". brezhnev and company shout that "the community of socialist states is

an inseparable whole"39 and that the "united action"40 of "the socialist community" must be strengthened.

a "socialist community" indeed exclamation it is nothing but a synonym for a colonial empire with you as the metropolitan state. the relationship between genuine socialist countries, big or small, should be built on the basis of marxism-leninism, on the basis of the principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, respect for state sovereignty and independence and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and on the basis of the proletarian internationalist principle of mutual support and mutual assistance. but you have trampled other countries underfoot and made them your subordinates and dependencies. by "united action" you mean to unify under your control the politics, economies and military affairs of other countries. by "inseparable" you mean to forbid other countries to free themselves from your control and enslavement. are you not brazenly trying to enslave the people of other countries?

fourthly, the theory of "international division of labour". brezhnev and company have greatly developed this nonsense spread by khrushchov long ago. they have not only applied "international division of labour" to a number of east european countries and the mongolian people's republic as mentioned above, but have extended it to other countries in asia, africa and latin america. they allege that the asian, african and latin american countries cannot "secure the establishment of an independent national economy",41 unless they "co-operate" with soviet revisionism. "this co-operation enables the soviet union to make better use of the international division of labour. we shall be able to purchase in these countries increasing quantities of their traditional export commodities -- cotton, wool, skins and hides, dressed non-ferrous ores, vegetable oil, fruit, coffee, cocoa beans, tea and other raw materials, and a variety of manufactured goods."42

what a list of "traditional export commodities" exclamation

it is a pity that this list is not complete. to it must be added petroleum, rubber, meat, vegetables, rice, jute, cane sugar, etc.

in the eyes of the handful of soviet revisionist oligarchs, the people of the asian, african and latin american countries are destined to provide them with these "traditional export commodities" from generation to generation. what kind of "theory" is this? the colonialists and imperialists have long advocated that it is they who are to determine what each country is to produce in the light of its natural conditions, and they have forcibly turned asian, african and latin american countries into sources of raw materials and kept them in a state of backwardness so that industrial capitalist countries can carry on the most savage colonial exploitation at their convenience. the soviet revisionist clique has taken over this colonial policy from imperialism. its theory of "international division of labour" boils down to "industrial soviet union, agricultural asia, africa and latin america" or "industrial soviet union, subsidiary processing workshop asia, africa and latin america".

mutual and complementary exchange of goods and mutual assistance on the basis of equality and mutual benefit between genuine socialist countries and asian, african and latin american countries are conducted for the purpose of promoting the growth of an independent national economy in these countries keeping the initiative in their own hands. however,

the theory of "international division of labour" is preached by the handful of soviet revisionist oligarchs for the sole purpose of infiltrating, controlling and plundering the asian, african and latin american countries, broadening their own spheres of influence and putting these countries under the new yoke of soviet revisionist colonialism.

fifthly, the theory that "our interests are involved". brezhnev and company clamour that "the soviet union which, as a major world power, has extensive international contacts, cannot regard passively events that, though they might be territorially remote, nevertheless have a bearing on our security and the security of our friends".43 they arrogantly declare: "ships of the soviet navy" will "sail...wherever it is required by the interests of our country's security" exclamation 44

can a country regard all parts of the world as areas involving its interests and lay its hands on the whole globe because it is a "major power"? can a country send its gunboats everywhere to carry out intimidation and aggression because it "has extensive international contacts"? this theory that "our interests are involved" is a typical argument used by the imperialists for their global policy of aggression. when the old tsars engaged in foreign expansion, they did it under the banner of "russian interests". the u.s. imperialists too have time and again shouted that the united states bears responsibility "not only for our own security but for the security of all free nations", and that it will "defend freedom wherever necessary".45 how strikingly similar are the utterances of the soviet revisionists to those of the old tsars and the u.s. imperialists exclamation

the soviet revisionist renegade clique which has long gone bankrupt ideologically, theoretically and politically cannot produce anything presentable at all; it can only pick up some trash from imperialism and, after refurbishing, come out with "brezhnevism". this "brezhnevism" is imperialism with a "socialist" label, it is outright hegemonism, naked neo-colonialism.

vi. the soviet revisionists' dream of a vast empire

in exposing tsarist russia's policy of aggression a hundred years ago, marx pointed out: "(boldface begins) its methods, its tactics, its manoeuvres may change, but the guiding star of this policy -- world hegemony -- will never change. (boldface ends)"46

tsar nicholas first once arrogantly shouted: "the russian flag should not be taken down wherever it is hoisted."47 tsars of several generations cherished the fond dream, as engels said, of setting up a vast "slav empire" extending from the elbe to china, from the adriatic sea to the arctic ocean. they even intended to extend the boundaries of this vast empire to india and hawaii. to attain this goal, they "(boldface begins) are as treacherous as they are talented (boldface ends)".48

the soviet revisionist new tsars have completely taken over the old tsars' expansionist tradition, branding their faces with the indelible stigma of the romanov dynasty. they are dreaming the very dream the old tsars failed to make true and they are far more ambitious than their predecessors in their designs for aggression. they have turned a number of east european countries and the mongolian people's republic into their colonies and dependencies. they vainly attempt

to occupy more chinese territory, openly copying the old tsars' policy towards china and clamouring that china's northern frontier "was marked by the great wall".49 they have stretched their arms out to southeast asia, the middle east, africa and even latin america and sent their fleets to the mediterranean, the indian ocean, the pacific and the atlantic in their attempt to set up a vast soviet revisionist empire spanning europe, asia, africa and latin america.

the "slav empire" of the old tsars vanished like a bubble long ago and tsardom itself was toppled by the great october revolution led by lenin in 1917. the reign of the old tsars ended in thin air. today too, in the era when imperialism is heading for total collapse, the new tsars' mad attempt to build a bigger empire dominating the whole world is nothing but a dream.

stalin said: "(boldface begins) lenin called imperialism 'moribund capitalism.' why? because imperialism carries the contradictions of capitalism to their last bounds, to the extreme limit, beyond which revolution begins. (boldface ends)"50

since soviet revisionism has embarked on the beaten track of imperialism, it is inevitably governed by the law of imperialism and afflicted with all the contradictions inherent in imperialism.

comrade mao tsetung points out: "(boldface begins) the united states is a paper tiger. don't believe in the united states. one thrust and it's punctured. revisionist soviet union is a paper tiger too. (boldface ends)"51

in carrying out rabid expansion and aggression, soviet revisionist social-imperialism is bound to go to the opposite of what it expects and create the conditions for its own downfall. soviet revisionism treats the other countries of the "socialist community" as its fiefs, but it can never succeed in perpetuating its colonial rule over the people of these countries, nor can it alleviate its contradictions with these countries. east europe today is just like a powder keg which is sure to go off. the intrusion of the soviet revisionist tanks into prague does not in the least indicate the strength of soviet revisionist social-imperialism, on the contrary it marks the beginning of the collapse of the soviet revisionist colonial empire. with its feet deep in the czechoslovak quagmire, soviet revisionist social-imperialism cannot extricate itself.

by its expansion and plunder in asia, africa and latin america, soviet revisionism has set itself against the people of these regions. it has so overreached itself and become so burdened that it is swollen all over like a man suffering from dropsy. even the u.s. imperialist press says: "we've discovered that they (square bracket) the russians (square unbracket) plunder as badly as we do -- if not worse".52

with soviet revisionist social-imperialism joining the company of world imperialism, the contradictions among the imperialists have become more acute. social-imperialism and imperialism are locked in a fierce rivalry to broaden their respective spheres of influence. the strife between social-imperialism and imperialism, which are encircled ring upon ring by the world's people, must inevitably accelerate the destruction of the entire imperialist system.

at home the rule of soviet revisionist social-imperialism also rests on a volcano. during the period of the stolypin reaction, lenin wrote that the upsurge of the struggle of the russian working class "(boldface begins) may be rapid, or it may be slow (boldface ends)", "(boldface begins) but in any case it is leading to a revolution (boldface ends)".53 in the soviet union today the conflict and antagonism between the new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class on the one hand and the enslaved proletariat, labouring peasants and revolutionary intellectuals on the other are becoming increasingly acute. class struggle develops independently of man's will and must lead to revolution sooner or later.

the soviet union was originally a union of multi-national socialist states. such a union can be built, consolidated and developed only under socialist conditions and on the basis of equality and voluntary affiliation. the soviet union, as stalin indicated, "(boldface begins) had before it the unsuccessful experiments of multi-national states in bourgeois countries. it had before it the experiment of old austria-hungary, which ended in failure (boldface ends)". nevertheless, the union of soviet multi-national states was "(boldface begins) bound to stand every and any test (boldface ends)", because "(boldface begins) real fraternal cooperation among the peoples has been established (boldface ends)" by the socialist system "(boldface begins) within the system of a single federated state (boldface ends)".54 now the soviet revisionist renegade clique has subverted the socialist system, exercised a bourgeois dictatorship and substituted national oppression for national equality and the jungle law of the bourgeoisie for mutual help and fraternity among the nationalities. now that the proletarian basis, the socialist basis, of the original union has been discarded, will not the huge multi-national "union" under the rule of the bourgeoisie of a new type one day undergo the same crisis and end in failure, as the austro-hungarian empire did in the past?

like u.s. imperialism, soviet revisionist social-imperialism feverishly engages in missile-nuclear blackmail, seeking a way out of its impasse at home and abroad through military adventures and large-scale war of aggression. but will war bring a new lease of life to imperialism and social-imperialism in their death throes? no. just the opposite. history irrefutably proves that, far from saving imperialism from its impending doom, war can only hasten its extinction.

chairman mao points out: "(boldface begins) with regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: one is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war. (boldface ends)"55

chairman mao also says: "(boldface begins) people of the world, unite and oppose the war of aggression launched by any imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons exclamation if such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression, and preparations should be made right now exclamation (boldface ends)"56

this great call made by chairman mao on the basis of the present international situation indicates the orientation of struggle for the proletariat and the revolutionary people throughout the world. the people of the world must maintain high vigilance, make every preparation and be ready at all times to deal resolute crushing blows to any aggressor who dares to unleash war exclamation

in recent years, the soviet revisionist renegade clique, inheriting the old tricks of the old tsars, has been backing

and engineering, half openly, half secretly, a new "movement for pan-slavism" and publicizing the "sacredness of the national spirit" of the russians in a futile attempt to poison the minds of the soviet labouring masses and younger generation with this reactionary trend of thought and induce the soviet people to serve as tools for the policies of aggression and war of the handful of soviet revisionist oligarchs. in all sincerity, we would like to remind the fraternal soviet people never to be taken in by "pan-slavism".

what is "pan-slavism"?

in exposing the old tsars, marx and engels pointed out incisively: "(boldface begins) pan-slavism is an invention of the st. petersburg cabinet (boldface ends)".57 engels said that the old tsars used this swindle in preparation for war "(boldface begins) as the last sheet anchor of russian tsarism and russian reaction (boldface ends)". therefore, "(boldface begins) pan-slavism is the russians' worst enemy as well as ours. (boldface ends)"58

like hitler's "aryan master race", the "pan-slavism" of the soviet revisionist new tsars is exceedingly reactionary racism. they publicize these reactionary ideas only to serve expansion abroad by the handful of reactionary rulers of their "superior race". for the broad masses of the people, this only spells catastrophe.

lenin once pointed out: "(boldface begins) the oppression of 'subject peoples' is a double-edged weapon. it cuts both ways -- against the 'subject peoples' and against the russian people. (boldface ends)"59 it is precisely under the smoke-screen of "pan-slavism" that the handful of soviet revisionist oligarchs are now working against time both to plot wars of aggression and to step up their attacks on the soviet people, including the russian people.

the interests of the proletariat and the broad masses in the soviet union are diametrically opposed to those of the soviet revisionist new tsars but are in accord with the interests of the revolutionary people the world over. if the soviet revisionist new tsars launch a large-scale war of aggression, then, in accordance with lenin's principle in dealing with imperialist wars of aggression, the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the soviet union will surely refuse to serve as cannon-fodder for the unjust war unleashed by soviet revisionist social-imperialism. they will carry forward the cause of the heroic sons and daughters of the great october revolution and fight to overthrow the new tsars and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

two hundred years ago, eulogizing the "achievements" of the wars of aggression of tsarina catherine ii, a russian poet wrote: "advance, and the whole universe is thine exclamation"60 now the soviet revisionist new tsars have mounted the horse of the old tsars and "advanced". they are dashing about recklessly, unable to rein in and completely forgetting that their ancestors were thrown from this same horse and that thus the russian empire of the romanov dynasty came to an end. it is certain that the new tsars will come to no better end than the old tsars. they will surely be thrown from their horse and dashed to pieces.

vii. people of the world, unite and fight to overthrow u.s. imperialism, soviet revisionism and all reaction

comrade mao tsetung points out: "(boldface begins) the soviet union was the first socialist state and the communist

party of the soviet union was created by lenin. although the leadership of the soviet party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, i would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the soviet people and of party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long. (boldface ends)"61

the chinese people cherish deep feelings for the people of the soviet union. during the great october revolution led by lenin, chinese labourers in russia fought shoulder to shoulder with the russian proletarians. the people of our two countries have supported each other, helped each other and forged a close friendship in the course of protracted revolutionary struggles. the handful of soviet revisionist oligarchs are perversely trying to sow dissension and undermine the relations between the chinese and soviet peoples, but in the end they will be lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet.

the soviet people are a great people with a glorious revolutionary tradition who were educated by lenin and stalin. they will under no circumstances allow the new tsars to sit on their backs for long. though the fruits of the october revolution have been thrown away by the soviet revisionist renegades, the principles of the october revolution are eternal. under the great banner of leninism, the mighty current of people's revolution is bound to break through the ice of revisionist rule, and the spring of socialism will surely return to the land of the soviet union exclamation

comrade mao tsetung points out: "(boldface begins) whether in china or in other countries of the world, to sum up, over 90 per cent of the population will eventually support marxism-leninism. there are still many people in the world who have not yet awakened because of the deceptions of the social-democrats, revisionists, imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries. but anyhow they will gradually awaken and support marxism-leninism. the truth of marxism-leninism is irresistible. the masses of the people will eventually rise in revolution. the world revolution is bound to triumph. (boldface ends)"62

in commemorating the centenary of the birth of the great lenin, we are happy to see that, under the guidance of marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought, the cause of the world proletarian revolution is advancing from victory to victory. the genuine marxist-leninist forces are steadily growing throughout the world. the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and people are vigorously forging ahead. all countries and people subjected to aggression, control, intervention or bullying by u.s. imperialism and soviet revisionism are forming the broadest united front. a new historical period of struggle against u.s. imperialism and soviet revisionism has begun. the death-knell is tolling for imperialism and social-imperialism.

invincible marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought is the powerful weapon of the proletariat for knowing and changing the world, the powerful weapon for propelling history forward. marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought, integrated with the revolutionary masses in their hundreds of millions and with the concrete practice of people's revolution in all countries, will certainly bring forth inexhaustible revolutionary strength to smash the entire old world to smithereens exclamation

long live great marxism exclamation

long live great leninism exclamation

long live great mao tsetung thought exclamation

x x x

notes

1. stalin, "the foundations of leninism", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 6, p. 63.

2. lenin, "the military programme of the proletarian revolution", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 23, p. 75.

3. mao tsetung, "on the people's democratic dictatorship", "selected works of mao tsetung", chinese ed., vol. 4, p. 1476 and p. 1475.

4. chairman mao's speech of april 17, 1957.

5. lenin, "imperialism and the split in socialism", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 23, p. 117.

6. lenin, "the state and revolution", "selected works", chinese ed., vol. 3, p. 179.

7. ibid., p. 184.

8. lenin, "the socialist revolution and the right of nations to self-determination", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 22, p. 138.

9. lenin, "the proletarian revolution and the renegade kautsky", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 28, p. 235.

10. lenin, "the state and revolution", "selected works", chinese ed., vol. 3, p. 192.

11. chairman mao's speech at the second plenary session of the eighth central committee of the communist party of china, november 15, 1956.

12. chairman mao's speeches at the working conference of the central committee at peitaiho in august 1962 and at the tenth plenary session of the eighth central committee of the party in september of the same year.

13. "circular" of the central committee of the communist party of china, may 16, 1966.

14. a talk of chairman mao's in august 1964.

15. a talk of chairman mao's on may 11, 1964.

16. "programme of the cpsu" adopted at the soviet revisionist "22nd congress".

17. soviet revisionist theses on the centenary of the birth of vladimir ilyich lenin.

18. soviet revisionist "pravda", march 5, 1970.

19. lenin, "socialism and war", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 21, p. 285.

20. lenin, "speech at the first all-russia congress of the navy", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 26, p. 322.

21. lenin, "the revolutionary proletariat and the right of nations to self-determination", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 21, p. 392.

22. lenin, "review of home affairs", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 5, p. 258.

23. "history of the communist party of the soviet union (bolsheviks), short course", chinese ed., people's publishing house, p. 471.

24. lenin, "the tasks of the third international", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 29, p. 458.

25. lenin, "on the national pride of the great russians", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 21, p. 85.

26. lenin, "imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 22, p. 293.

27. lenin, "bellicose militarism and the anti-militarist tactics of social-democracy", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 15, p. 166.

28. lenin, "eighth congress of the r.c.p. (b.)", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 29, p. 168.

29. soviet revisionist "uchitelskaya gazeta", february 5, 1970.

30. a.a. grechko, soviet revisionist minister of defence. see soviet revisionist "kommunist", no. 3, 1969.

31. soviet revisionist "international affairs", no. 11, 1968.

32. soviet revisionist "krasnaya zvezda", february 14, 1969.

33. "the nuremberg trial", vol. 2.

34. "foreign affairs" (u.s.), october 1957.

35. p.c. jessup, "a modern law of nations".

36. l.i. brezhnev's speech at the polish revisionist "5th congress", november 12, 1968.

37. k.t. mazurov's report at the october revolution "anniversary meeting" in moscow, november 6, 1968.

38. lenin, "preliminary draft of theses on the national and colonial questions", "selected works", chinese ed., vol. 4, p. 292.

39. soviet revisionist "izvestia", july 2, 1968.

40. "the fundamental document" of the sinister moscow meeting in june 1969.

41. l.i. brezhnev's speech at the sinister moscow meeting, june 7, 1969.

42. a.n. kosygin's report at the soviet revisionist "23rd congress", april 5, 1966.

43. a.a. gromyko's report at the "session of the supreme soviet of the ussr", july 10, 1969.

44. speech of s.g. gorshkov, the soviet revisionist naval commander-in-chief, on soviet navy day, 1969.

45. former u.s. president johnson's speeches, june 3 and june 20, 1964.

46. marx, "speech at the meeting of poles in london on january 22, 1867", "marx and engels collected works", chinese ed., vol. 16, p. 226.

47. g.i. nevelskoi, "the exploits of russian naval officers in the russian far east", p. 124.

48. engels, "foreign policy of russian tsardom", "marx and engels collected works", chinese ed., vol. 22, p. 17.

49. "statement of the government of the u.s.s.r.", june 13, 1969.

50. stalin, "the foundations of leninism", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 6, p. 65.

51. a talk of chairman mao's on january 30, 1964.

52. "u.s. news and world report", january 5, 1970.

53. lenin, "the beginning of demonstrations", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 16, p. 357.

54. stalin, "on the draft constitution of the u.s.s.r.", "problems of leninism", chinese ed., people's publishing house, 1964, pp. 649-50.

55. comrade lin piao, "report to the ninth national congress of the communist party of china".

56. "usher in the great 1970's" -- 1970 new year's day editorial of the "people's daily", the journal "red flag" and the "liberation army daily". "people's daily", january 1, 1970.

57. marx and engels, "socialist democratic alliance and the international worker-association", "marx and engels collected works", chinese ed., vol. 18, p. 492.

58. engels' letter to karl kautsky, february 7, 1882, "marx and engels on art", chinese ed., people's literature publishing house, 1963, vol. 3, p. 361.

59. lenin, "national equality", "collected works", chinese ed., vol. 20, p. 233.

60. g.r. dershavin, "to the capture of warsaw".

61. chairman mao's speech at the working conference (enlarged) of the central committee of the communist party of china, january 30, 1962.

62. ibid.

END

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
CLEARINGHOUSE FOR FEDERAL
SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION
Springfield, Va. 22151

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

LIBRARY RATE
PRINTED MATTER

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE